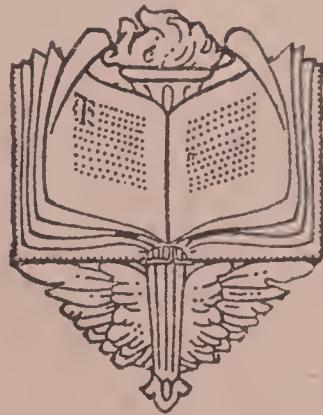


THE INTELLECTUAL AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

by
GEORGE SOULE



LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

70 Fifth Ave., New York

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70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

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*"EDUCATION FOR A NEW SOCIAL ORDER BASED
ON PRODUCTION FOR USE AND NOT FOR PROFIT"*

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By GEORGE SOULE

Director, Labor Bureau, Inc.



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INTRODUCTION

It is now many years ago that Prince Peter Kropotkin wrote his famous appeal to young "intellectuals" to cast in their lot with the labor movement—to the poets, the painters, the sculptors, the musicians, who understood that their "true mission and the very interests of art itself" were with labor; to the physicians, who had become convinced that the causes of disease must be uprooted; to the lovers of pure science, to all "who possessed knowledge, talent, capacity, industry."

"And remember," declared Kropotkin, "if you do come, that you come not as masters but as comrades in the struggle; that you come not to govern but to gain strength for yourselves in a new life which sweeps upwards to the conquest of the future; that you come less to teach than to grasp the aspirations of the many; to divine them, to give them shape, and then to work without rest and without haste, with all the fire of youth and all the judgment of age, to realize them in actual life. Then and then only will you lead a complete, a noble, a rational existence. Then you will see that your every effort on this path bears with it fruit in abundance, and this sublime harmony once established between your actions and the dictates of your conscience will give you powers you never dreamt lay dormant in yourselves.

"The never-ceasing struggle for truth, justice and equality among the people, whose gratitude you will earn—what nobler career can the youth of all nations desire than this?"

This and similar appeals made before and since, and, most of all, the great, crying need of the times have, during the last hundred years, irresistibly aligned men and women of keen mind and fine idealism on the side of labor. A host of them we find in Europe alone—Ibsen, Shaw, Hauptmann, Maeterlinck, Galsworthy, Carpenter, Masefield, among the dramatists and poets; Tolstoi, Zola, Hugo, Turgieneff, France, Gorky, Wells, Rolland, Barbusse, among the novelists; John Stuart Mill, Marx, Engels, Kropotkin, Sorel, Lagardelle, Place, Lenin, the Webbs, the Hobsons, Gide, Cole, Kautsky, Hilferding, among the economists; Ruskin, Morris, Crane, Millet, Meunier, Wagner, among the artists and musicians; Alfred Russel Wallace, Lombroso, Ferri, Labriola, Frederic Harrison, Grant Allen, Bertrand Russel, Albert Einstein, among the scientists and philosophers; Lassalle, Jaures, Mazzini, Adler, the Liebknechts, Snowden, Vandervelde, Trotsky, Macdonald, Branting, Longuet, among the orators and the parliamentarians; Robert Owen, St. Simon and Fourier, among the Utopian writers; and men and women of rare attainments in every line of intellectual endeavor.

The great majority of these "traders in ideas," as Barbusse has it, have not only had a passionate desire to serve labor in its immediate struggles, but to assist the worker in his age long battle toward a worthier status—toward a higher order of industrial society.

In the early days of the labor movement, the intellectual was of chief assistance to the workers in interpreting labor to itself and to those outside its ranks; in inspiring the movement with confidence in itself; in assisting it to formulate its program for social change, to keep its idealism, its enthusiasm alive; in widening its vision of future possibilities.

In Europe today, particularly in countries such as Russia, where labor is in control, the prime present day need is for technical assistance in the administration of socialized industry. The indifference or opposition of many brain workers to the government has been a serious handicap to it. In other countries—Sweden, Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, among them—labor has selected many “intellectuals” to voice its demands in the parliaments and in municipal councils, and to aid it in the cooperative, the educational and other movements.

In the United States, labor has for some time utilized lawyers to defend it in court—lawyers of the type of Clarence Darrow, Jackson H. Ralston, Morris Hillquit, Frank P. Walsh. It has gladly accepted the service of such university trained men and women as Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, John B. Andrews, Owen R. Lovejoy, Henry R. Seager, John R. Commons, Lillian Wald, in its fight for better labor legislation. It has received aid—material and spiritual—from writers and speakers of the type of Walt Whitman, James Russell Lowell, Horace Greeley, Margaret Fuller, Wendell Phillips, Albert Brisbane, William Henry Channing, John Swinton, Edward Bellamy, and Henry D. Lloyd, at an earlier period; and, more recently, of Jack London, William D. Howells, Frank Norris, Edwin Markham, Charles Rann Kennedy, Mary Austin, Upton Sinclair, Vida D. Scudder, Sinclair Lewis, Louis Untermeyer, Vachel Lindsay, Carl Sandburg, Ernest Poole, Frederic C. Howe, Arthur Gleason, Lincoln Steffens, among writers, poets and dramatists; William James, John Dewey, Charles P. Steinmetz, among the philosophers and scientists; Lester F. Ward, Robert H. Hoxie, Carlton Parker, Thorstein Veblen, E. A. Ross, Franklin H. Giddings, Charles A. Beard, among political scientists; and John A. Ryan, Walter Rauschenbusch, Bishops Spaulding and Williams, Harry F. Ward, Judah L. Magnes, and John Haynes Holmes, among religious leaders.

During the past few years organized labor on the economic field has developed a number of constructive features. It has entered the field of labor education, labor banking, labor health, cooperation, labor politics, and these developments have led to an increasing need for university trained technicians. In some ways service as expert advisers in these fields of trade union activity furnish the most fertile field today for the trained student who wishes to devote his energies to the strengthening of the labor movement.

How can the young intellectual be of service in this field? In what spirit should he approach the task? What pitfalls should he avoid? What should be the attitude of the trade union leaders toward the technicians?

George Soule, of the Labor Bureau, Inc., has attempted to answer these questions. After suggesting some answers, he has asked for comments from others working in the same field. These comments are, in large part, embodied in the text of the pamphlet, in footnotes and in the appendix. The pamphlet thus becomes, in a real sense, a cooperative venture.

The pamphlet does not attempt to persuade students of the importance of the labor movement in the life of today and tomorrow. It assumes that importance. It does not attempt to cover the whole field of intellectual activity surrounding the movement. It is confined largely to the opportunities of the technician, in the broader sense of that term, in the present day trade union movement.

The League counts itself as particularly fortunate in securing this contribution from Mr. George Soule and his colleagues. A graduate of Yale University, 1908, Mr. Soule has been a thorough student of the labor movement for many years past. Since 1918, he has served on the staffs of the **New Republic**, the **Nation** and the **New York Post** as a special writer on labor problems, is the author of a report on the industrial service section of the Department of the Secretary of War, and more lately has devoted his entire time to the Labor Bureau, Inc., as one of its directors. He is co-author with J. M. Budish of "The New Unionism in the Clothing Industry," a director of the National Bureau of Economic Research and a writer for various scientific journals.

The pamphlet is the third of a series on social problems published by the League. It will not have been published in vain if it helps any young idealist to find his niche in the labor movement and to assist in the onward march of this movement toward a nobler civilization.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

THE INTELLECTUAL AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

By GEORGE SOULE

IT IS a pity there is not some other word than intellectual with which to describe the type of person about whom this pamphlet is written. "Brain-worker" will not do; it is an ugly and meaningless term which implies that a college graduate has a better mind and employs it more than a manual laborer, although the contrary is often the case. "Educated person" is an unwarranted assumption; not many really are educated in the true sense. "Technician" would be more accurate for some; yet, alas, how few intellectuals have technical skill of any sort!

The word is made necessary by the fact that there are some trades, largely consisting of those whose hand-tools are not heavier than a pencil or more difficult to operate than a typewriter or an adding machine, which are not yet well organized in trade-unions. The usual apprenticeship for these trades is long and expensive. This is so, however, largely through social custom rather than because such a long training is necessary to produce the average level of ability of the journeyman in question. These trades are largely recruited from the children of Mr. Babbitt and his friends. They include writers of fiction, of poetry, of criticism, of political and social articles—though not the humdrum newspaper man. They include many social workers, researchers, and officials and employees of philanthropic and liberal societies. They include some professors and teachers. And, a much larger class, they include many who do not have even so definite a trade as these, but feel vague aspirations to be of service some day in one or more of them. One trait all these persons have in common. They believe that the whole world and its problems are their province; they are not satisfied to be intellectually limited to one round of duties or to one enterprise, such as a grocery store or a family. Exhibited with proper modesty, this trait is a good one.

WHY INTELLECTUALS ARE ATTRACTED TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Now a person of this sort is likely to be discontented with the human scene as it is, ready of imagination and sympathy, experimental, and somewhat contemptuous of the standards immediately about him. He feels the need of a vital and refreshing force in the world which may upset it more or less, which may lead it into regenerative paths. He likes dramatic conflicts and great events. Looking abroad, he searches for an historic current which seems important enough for him to throw himself into. And soon the labor movement, as reflected in strikes, in manifestoes and prophecies, fills his eye. Here are a multitude of people who also feel discontent, who have a worthy cause, whose onward march is massive and continued enough to bear a sort of grandeur, especially in distant perspective which obscures details and confuses colors. For him the immensely complex British Labor Movement becomes the famous and inspiring Nottingham program of the Labor Party. The early speeches of Trotsky or Lenin stand for the gargantuan upheaval in Russia. He is fired with the spirit of words like "comrade" and "brother," and in moments of dramatic imagination pictures himself sacrificing his share of this world's goods, and perhaps, if need be, life or liberty as well, in the cause of humanity.

FINDING THE REALITY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Such an attitude is not only creditable, it is also enjoyable and, to a certain extent, useful. Many of the leaders of the trade unions themselves have it at times, and it is one with which everyone may be touched in a crisis such as a war or a strike. But it is not anyone's habitual attitude; assumed too consistently and too long it may become a posture which is cramping and even inhuman. At any rate, the intellectual who has a romantic picture of the labor movement should remember that the rank and file of those who compose it approach it from a different ground and with a somewhat different purpose. To a manual wage-earner the movement may be a spectacle, a drama, but it is also something more immediate and intimate. It is likely to be presently embodied in a trade-union. This union may have won his allegiance on the plea of high aims and brotherly principles,

but it may also have kept his membership because it has proved itself capable of raising his wages twenty-five cents a day or shortening his working week from fifty-two to forty-eight hours. He may have joined it just as many business men join a prosperous church—because it contains most of the prominent workmen of his trade and is able to lead him to a job. It may mean to him the sort of vested interest represented to many others by an insurance company. The officials of the union may be idealists, but they may be practical men as well, who think not merely about the ultimate interests of the rank and file who elect them, but also about the amount and regularity of their salaries, and hence about the conservative type of policy which will insure a continual flow of "per capita" into the union treasuries.¹

To a common or carnal mind such motives and details appear proper and reasonable, the essential texture of any large fabric, but to a man looking for a marching army of sacrifice, which is on its way to create a new heaven and a new earth, they often seem so petty as to be nearly criminal. The intellectual who actually works with the labor movement is a bit inclined to scoff at the unions' emphasis on more wages and hours. He may oppose insurance funds and similar projects on the very ground that they are likely to lead to conservative policies. He may think every great strike is "the" revolution, and may be bitterly disappointed when it is compromised on the basis of half the gains which he thinks it might have won. He watches the indomitable expression of resolution in the speeches, followed by a weakening of the rank and file and the temporary satisfaction with small victories. He may discover scattered instances of graft and other dishonesty. He sees what looks like ingratitude on the part of the crowd, their susceptibility to meaningless factional struggles, their supineness in the face of intolerable outrages, their unwillingness or inability to think, their fail-

¹ Miss Fannia M. Cohn, one of the vice-presidents of the International Ladies Garment Workers, and secretary of its Educational Department, emphasizes this contention of the author's.

"Even those members of a union who are idealistically inclined will drop out if they do not see results. Although, to my mind, a trade union has a great and idealistic mission to perform, it must on the journey towards its ultimate aim solve many of the workers' problems. These though seemingly small, are very important for the preservation, solidarity and success of the labor movement. Workers will fight the most bitter and important strikes with great enthusiasm and sacrifice. But if the strike is lost and they have no longer any hope of getting improvements through their collective efforts, they drop out of the union."

ure to support causes which might help them. And in the end he is likely to become as discouraged as in the beginning he was ardorous. Disillusionment and bitterness set in; he cannot find a way to be useful, the labor movement is slow and tortuous and he will have none of it. At the same time he may find himself incapable of making even the sacrifice involved in living from year to year on the same income as the average skilled wage-earner, to say nothing of losing his liberty and life in the Cause.²

WHAT LABOR SOMETIMES EXPECTS OF THE INTELLECTUAL

Naive members and officers of the unions sometimes have as exaggerated expectations of the intellectual as he has of them. Here is an educated man come to help them. He has been to college and hence knows everything. He knows what is the matter with the world. Give him power and he can do away in a jiffy with poverty and oppression. He has written for a newspaper, and so he can see that the newspapers at last print the workers' side of the case in full. His influential friends can bring pressure to bear on the employer and make him reasonable. They can contribute enormous sums of money for relief funds and benefits.

No intellectual can do these things, most intellectuals cannot do any part of one of them. Here is disillusionment also.

² Commenting on the manner in which many intellectuals approach the labor movement. Cedric Long, graduate of Union Theological Seminary, a former organizer for the Amalgamated Textile Workers says:

"Many young men and women have thrown themselves directly into the labor movement. Some of these have been animated chiefly by the scientific spirit; they have hoboed through the harvest fields and mining districts, worked in the ranks of unskilled labor in factory and mill,— trying to get the 'feel' of life and toil and union activities as the workers at the bottom find them. Others more emotionally sensitive to the injustices in our industrial order, repelled by the callousness and unconscious cruelty of the classes with which they are habitually associated, find themselves driven to cut loose and throw in their lot with the oppressed classes in society. A third group, mere adventurers, join the labor forces in search of new sensations or personal power.

"No man or woman should lightly make such a leap as this. Young people easily interpret a love of romance as 'social passion' or the 'scientific spirit'. The labor movement has nothing to give such people, nor can they give anything to the labor movement. However, many genuine leaders in various social and economic movements have first 'found themselves' by making such a plunge as this. Other men and women will get their start in a life of genuine service in the same manner.

"There are a few 'No Trespass' signs that such people must rigidly observe. Don't take another man's job, either in time of strike or when there are more men than jobs on the market; and do not accept wages that are below the standard wage for that particular class of work. Don't aspire to leadership in a union. When the toil among the rank and file of workers begins to grow monotonous and you feel you are 'fitted for greater spheres of usefulness', it is time to move on to another job or get back into the ranks of the intellectuals. Don't harbor the conviction that you are of great service to the labor movement. You are probably more of a drag than a help; you are merely getting the education which an impossible educational system denied you."

Through long and bitter experience many trade unionists have sworn off from "brain-workers." Three-quarters of the people who come from other economic classes to help them have their own axes to grind. The other quarter are ineffectual fools. They lead the rank and file off on impractical wild-goose chases. They spoil union discipline and create dissension. Their attitude is intolerably patronizing. They find comfortable berths for themselves and then from their security preach to the wage-earner with a wife and family on the necessity of sacrificing all in warfare against the established order. Labor can fight its own battles without these college upstarts.

When one considers the situation, it is easy to understand the rift which often appears between the intellectuals and the labor movement.

Numerous intellectuals who have read this pamphlet complain that the preceding sections underestimate the role of the intellectual and his high purpose, and are likely to dampen the fine enthusiasm of youth concerning the labor movement, which is the most vital and significant current in the modern world. One suggests that I should use Barbusse's definition of the intellectual—one who deals in ideas. Another says that I should string through the matter a red thread of hope and courage.

It is significant to me that no trade unionist who has read the pamphlet expresses such an opinion. The tone of this introduction has been deliberately unflattering, since one of its objects is to discourage an inflated and surface enthusiasm which usually wreaks as much harm as it does good. Unless the inner spirit of a man is robust enough to bear such a matter-of-fact analysis, his courage and enthusiasm certainly will not endure through an experience of the reality. I am confident that a deep fire of conviction can and must be capable of a straight look at the facts and will be willing to prove itself in the unromantic drudgery necessary to accomplishment. There is no discouragement for those who have such a spirit in what I have tried to say.

WHAT THE INTELLECTUAL MAY EXPECT OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

It is not true that the high mutual expectations of the intellectual and labor are entirely unfounded. The picture which the enthusiast forms of the onward march of labor

is not false, it is only immensely fore-shortened and romanticized. If he will but remember that workmen are people, very much like other people, and that their organizations and collective habits are institutions, very much like other institutions, he will save himself much needless chagrin. Most people are interested in petty things, most of them prefer roundabout alleys and sideshows to straight progress along the main highroad. Heroic moods are not stable. The labor movement moves, but sometimes more like a glacier than like a race-horse, sometimes more like an eddy than like a cataract. It is historic, not in the sense of a carefully directed pageant, but in the sense of a highly varied and slow migration. Its institutions are just as liable to encrusted bureaucracy, to cautious protection of their vested interests, as are other institutions. They have, to be sure, merits of their own, but they are not the type of an ideal world. The fact that unions are concerned about wages and hours, about political factions, that they progress haltingly and clumsily, does not mean that the high-sounding manifestoes and programs are nothing but so much political bunkum. It means merely that like all words of man, they are too small and clipped to encompass more than the general direction and the finer spirit of the reality.

There is one aspect of the labor movement, moreover, which is likely to take by surprise the intellectual who is unfamiliar with it. He will probably be unprepared for the intricacy and difficulty of its daily functions, or for the technical skill demanded of its practical leaders. Seen closely, it is not chiefly an affair of meetings, strikes and speeches. A successful trade union is a complex organization with a highly developed government of its own, dealing with the life of industry in a hundred details. Its officials have an accumulated experience in organizing methods, in negotiating with employers, in the conduct of industrial warfare when that is necessary, in the administration of the affairs of large bodies of men, which places them on a level of practical intelligence at least as high as that of the average business man. The officialdom of the labor movement may, like most other officialdoms, be unduly conservative. It may for a time follow policies which prove mistaken in the long run. It may have much to learn about the conduct of its own business. All these faults are characteristic of almost any group of execu-

tives. Yet a person who is unfamiliar with the concrete machinery of trade-unionism, who has not wrestled with its problems at close range, and who has not understood the heavy responsibilities which rest upon the shoulders of a trade-union leader, is as venturesome in attempting to advise unionists about matters of policy as a raw college graduate would be in criticizing the technical aspects of management in a great industrial enterprise. No one who has not received a thorough education in the labor movement is fitted to assume any of the functions of technical trade union leadership. Any "intellectual" who attempts to do so is likely to meet with a warranted rebuff. If his talent for speaking or writing should gain him support in a section of the movement which is not itself experienced and has not developed its own leaders, he is likely soon to succumb to disaster, together with those who have followed him.

The intellectual, then, may expect of the labor movement a real significance in spite of all disappointments, and he may also expect of it, as of all significant institutions rooted in history, a tough fabric of custom and behavior to which the only fruitful approach is one of inquiring respect.

WHAT THE LABOR MOVEMENT OUGHT TO EXPECT OF THE INTELLECTUAL

The trade union movement may help the sympathetic intellectual to fulfill his true function by abandoning a wholly negative attitude toward him. It ought to cease holding exaggerated expectation of his ability. It may be compelled to discourage his ill considered attempts at interference. But it ought also positively to make clear that in certain respects the intellectual may be of distinct assistance.³

When a unionist wants plumbing or carpentry done, he goes to a plumber or carpenter, not to an official of his own union. He recognizes that the man who has a trade, whose skill is dependent on an apprenticeship in his craft, is the

³ "I believe," declares Bruno Lasker of *The Survey*, commenting on this passage, "that Mr. Soule's statement might, with advantage, be much more emphatic. The time has passed when the American labor movement could hope to make rapid strides on a narrow class basis. Without having ever been near any trade union local or a labor meeting, a socialist intellectual can contribute immensely to public education on labor problems and issues. He can sow the seeds of dissatisfaction with the present anti-social organization or lack of organization of the nation's economic processes and thereby prepare a more tolerant hearing for the representatives of labor and their constructive programs. He can set people of his natural environment thinking open-mindedly and constructively and, in so doing, he perhaps is just as useful to the labor movement as he would be in propagating definite doctrines."

man to be employed on a job in that trade or craft. To a limited extent he follows the same policy with regard to professional men. He visits a doctor when he is sick; he does not argue that the art of doctoring is the perquisite of a manual worker. When unions become involved in litigation, they naturally employ lawyers. But only recently has it occurred to union officials that when they are faced by difficult economic or industrial problems — as they are constantly, owing to the very nature of a union's activity —, when they have controversies with employers in arbitration proceedings or in the open arena, they might go to an economist or an engineer for technical counsel or representation.

The fact that they have not done so before is not the fault of the unions, but of the social scientists and technicians. Economics in the past has not been so much a science derived inductively from observed facts, developing principles on which an art of effective action may be based, as it has been a body of dogmatic doctrine serving the prejudices of one group or another in society. Engineers have usually been merely the instruments of employers in getting more work for less wages out of their employees. But unions have an opportunity to demand a useful science of economics, and a socially-minded and serviceable group of engineers. There are numerous other professions, the members of which are now chiefly employed by corporation and business executives, but which might be equally useful to labor. There are, of course, the newspaper and magazine writers and editors. There are the accountants, who can audit union books and set union records straight to much better effect than volunteer committees. There are the experts in preventive medicine and industrial hygiene, the architects, town planners who might design cooperative housing developments, the psychologists and the students of social and political science who might, if they had explored their own subjects sufficiently, give much aid in the development of social and political strategy. In fact, there is hardly a branch of science or technology which might not in the long run be made useful to any movement of such inclusive nature and large aims as the labor movement.

In the fields of trained technical assistance labor ought to expect much of the intellectual, and by expecting much it will help the sympathetic intellectual to educate himself

properly to render a genuine professional service. The intellectual can better aid the union by doing his own job well for the union than by trying to do the union's job for it.

THE INTELLECTUAL AND THE RANK AND FILE

Here again I must record dissent on the part of a number of intellectuals. The best way to understand the labor movement and to help it, they say, is first to become a manual worker and to join a union as a member of the rank and file.

A small number of intellectuals have done this with great profit to themselves and have subsequently been able to interpret labor's attitude with much more sympathy than they could otherwise have done. Manual labor is salutary for anybody, whether he is to work with the labor movement or not; and any intellectual worker will derive benefit from an occasional vacation from his desk and typewriter. As a preparation for professional service this course has much to recommend it.⁴

⁴ In dealing with possibilities along these lines, Powers Hapgood, a Harvard graduate, who has spent the last few years as a miner in Pennsylvania and other states, and who more recently has done effective work as an organizer for the miners in Somerset County, has the following to say:

"I believe that the most important way for intellectuals to be of service to the labor movement is for them to become part of the group which they wish to help, to start life as manual workers, to take part in the affairs of their local unions, and to take their chances on being elected or appointed to administrative offices in their unions. This way, of course, applies largely to men and women who are not many years out of college and who have normal health and strength.

"It is true that men and women who have not risen from the ranks are in most unions neither eligible to handle nor capable of handling such important affairs of the unions as the formation of new policies, the making of contracts with employers, the managing of strikes, or the extension of the jurisdiction of the unions to unorganized fields. This does not mean, however, that college graduates are incapable of managing the basic functions of trade unionism if they go through the same training—though of less duration—as do all union officials. When once they rise to a position of leadership, they can be far more effective in the administration of their unions than if they performed professional services alone. Investigations, the preparation of briefs and statistics for arbitration cases, publicity and other services which intellectuals now render to the labor movement are important and necessary. Those trained along these lines can, however, function far more effectively as union officials, or at least as members of the rank and file of the labor movement, than if they did specific pieces of work as outsiders. They would also be more influential than the isolated intellectual in his advocacy of nationalization, consolidating the power of the A. F. of L., etc.

"A few years spent as a manual laborer in a mine, mill or factory is in no way wasted. In the first place, the experience of earning a living in industry and the opportunity which life like this gives for the understanding of human beings is the best kind of a post-graduate course. In the second place, and more important, it is from the rank and file of labor that progressive union policy most often comes. One or two active members of the rank and file of a local union, expressing their opinions at meetings or as delegates debating on the floor of district or national conventions, can do an immense amount of good, unappreciated it is true, but still worth while. And who can be more influential in arousing interest in workers' education, cooperative stores, labor papers, than active men working at their trades? The opportunity is there. Any man or woman with normal health can find a job after a little searching in mine, mill or factory and can serve the labor movement from the inside in many ways. Let him do his job, not worrying about 'leadership' and he will find plenty of things worth while doing."

I am doubtful, however, whether any but the most exceptional individual should aspire to officialdom and leadership in the labor movement itself by this route. After all is said and done, a man with a totally different background and training cannot easily make himself over into a true representative of the rank and file by a few years in a shop or mine. He is more likely to be the college man posing as the labor leader than the authentic spokesman.

THE OPPORTUNITY FOR PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

In a large sense and in the long run all professions and sciences benefit the community as a whole, and whatever benefits the community benefits labor, which forms such a large part of the community. In this sense there is an almost unlimited scope for service in the professions by those who are sympathetic with the labor movement. Certainly nobody is fitted to undertake important work in any social service unless he does understand the labor movement, and unless he participates to a high degree in its aspirations.

Nevertheless, the opportunity for direct professional connection with labor organizations themselves is not at present wide. Trade unions are still, and necessarily, organizations which must use collective economic power or the threat of it frequently in order to protect their elementary rights and interests, since they are not yet recognized as essential parts of the body politic either by public officials in general or by certain large groups of bankers and employers. The funds of some labor organizations are ample, but the number of strong unions is small indeed compared with the number of successful business firms. Technicians and professional men have not yet gone far in adapting their knowledge to the use of unions under these conditions. Promising beginnings have been made, and both sides are rapidly learning how to make such contacts fruitful, but the total number of labor technicians is still small, and a comparatively few persons can do not the work which should be done, but the work which it is now practicable to undertake. These persons must be peculiarly suited to their calling in order to be happy and successful in it. While there are intensely interesting and useful positions open for such exceptional individuals, the great majority of those interested in the labor movement will have to be content with some secondary connection. Among the present professional opportunities to cooperate with the

labor movement, including those which demand merely part-time work, may be listed the following:

- Economic and engineering research and counsel.⁵
- Publicity and editorial work.
- Accountancy.
- Labor law and bill drafting.
- Labor banking.
- ✓ Work in the cooperative movement.
- Teaching in labor classes and schools.⁶
- Labor health work.

Work like economic research, law and accountancy can only be done through professional connection with unions; some of the other occupations, such as teaching or lecturing may be done through extra-official agencies for labor education which have sprung up in various important centers.⁷

In any such work, the intellectual will do well to adhere to certain practical maxims of action. He must, of course, have a broad understanding of the movement and a large amount of sympathy with its aims. But he should not for a moment make the mistake of assuming, as a professional man, any of the duties or responsibilities of labor leadership.⁸ The

⁵ "The technique of administration has been worked out to a high degree by some of our corporations and in the British civil service, for example. I am deeply impressed not only by the need of union officials acquiring some of this technique, but also by the possibility of expert service being rendered them along this line. Some day the Labor Bureau will have such technicians as well as accountants on its staff."—A. J. Muste.

⁶ Referring to the spirit with which the intellectual should enter the field of workers' education, Dr. H. W. L. Dana, one of the founders of the Boston Trade Union College, writes:

"The college graduate who wants to enter that field must go not in the spirit of a 'condescending saviour', but of one who puts himself at the service of the movement saying 'Here am I, use me'. He must not expect to direct the policies of the labor college where he is teaching. The officers and the majority of the board of control, I feel, should be appointed by the trade unions, though teachers should be represented on the board and the educational suggestions which they have to make should carry weight through their power to convince the other members of the board."

⁷ For a fuller description of these opportunities, see Appendix.

Bruno Lasker states that "Perhaps one of the most valuable gifts the young intellectual might bring to the labor movement is friendship between individuals, fellowship among students and workers in which neither assumes a patronizing or a particularly self-abasing attitude."

⁸ James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, thus reinforces the author's point of view: "The intellectuals are not only welcome but needed. There are many things that they are better equipped to do than even the great majority of labor officials. Educators for our labor schools, research work, newspaper work, cooperative work, labor banking, credit unions, law, accounting, etc. When once they find their proper niche, the labor movement is bound to go forward not only more swiftly, but stronger and smoother. In the past, the great handicap of many has been that, because of their special training as college men and women, they aspired to leadership, instead of taking their places with the rank and file and leaving their worth to the movement to determine their rank."

Mr. Lasker feels that the warning against the assumption of political leadership by the intellectual requires a slight modification. "Often the lo-

political functions belong with the elected officials. They are the ones to assume responsibility for policies, they are the ones to take action.⁹ The technician's business is to arrange and interpret facts, to give advice, to practice his own profession. He can, in doing so, accept as much, but no more responsibility than a professional man would accept in working for a corporation. So far as his science is concerned, his duty is complete scientific detachment.

Another desirable aspect of the relationship between labor and the technician is that the latter should be adequately paid for his services. There is nothing labor dislikes more than philanthropy. There is nobody whom the union official despises more in his heart than the "parlor socialist" who is so anxious to help that he will do so for nothing, and whose help is so valueless that it is not worth paying for. Fair professional fees symbolize a sound relationship between the union and the technician—they establish the fact that the technician is there to serve, not to patronize, the union, and thus have a salutary effect on both parties. This does not mean, of course, that unions can or should pay the large salaries and fees that may be earned by professional men from private businesses. Technicians who work with the labor movement must often do so at a considerable financial sacrifice. But it does mean that the technical and professional functions of the labor movement can operate in health, and can grow as they should, only if labor pays the technicians wages commensurate with their skill and training.

In the beginning the value of technical services has often been demonstrated by free service, and due recognition should

cal leadership of an educated man who perhaps belongs to the trade union membership of the city or town as the representative of an insignificant little union of intellectuals," writes Mr. Lasker, "may be very valuable indeed. Thus officers of the teachers' union or (in England) of the clerks and shop assistants or of newspaper employees have assumed, or rather have been given through the recognition of their gifts by the organized workers, a leadership to which the importance of their union in itself would not entitle them. In other cases, the legal representatives of a union have, rightly, become the interpreters of the union's policies beyond their professional duties."

⁹ "I am in hearty agreement with the author about leaving the 'political' work of the unions to union officials (the determination of policies, etc.)," writes Mr. Muste, who, leaving the ministry, became secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Textile Workers. "My experience and observation lead me to think, however, that some intellectuals can find places for themselves as union organizers. I know a number who have done good work in this line. It is a terrifically hard, straining job. As a rule, one who wants to try to make a place for himself or herself in this field should actually work in some industrial establishment and serve as a plain member of a union for some time."

be given to the pioneers who have given their energies in this way.¹⁰

OPPORTUNITIES FOR VOLUNTEER WORK

But what is an intellectual to do if he is not one of those fortunate individuals who are fitted to serve the labor movement professionally and who find opportunities to do so?

If he is a teacher, an actor, or a journalist, he may join the union of his own trade and work through that; if there is no local in his town, he may organize one.¹¹ This is a heroic and thankless enough task for anyone. Doubtless there are few of the professions which might not have organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, if their rank and file were sufficiently active and intelligent. Here is a thoroughfare waiting to be built by volunteers and pioneers, through which the intellectuals may join the labor movement en masse. The subject, however, is such a large one that it cannot be adequately discussed outside a special pamphlet.

In politics, too, there is ample room for unpaid activity. Even the established and business-like Republican and Dem-

¹⁰ Robert W. Bruère of the Bureau of Industrial Research, while agreeing fundamentally and in the "long run" with the author's contention that the healthy relationship between the trade unions and the technicians is that the latter should be adequately paid, seems to give a somewhat larger place than does Mr. Soule to the pioneers in various lines who have contributed their services to labor without charge. He says:

"The growing interest and faith in the technicians among the workers, as among the rank and file of the common people, is, to a considerable extent, due to the social workers,—including doctors, nurses, housing experts, etc.,—who were able, during the pioneer period, to serve without pay. The unpaid services of technicians in public departments—teachers, factory inspectors, compensation experts, doctors, nurses, accountants—as well as the employees of privately supported social agencies, etc., come within this category.

"An intellectual who has no bottom of his own to stand on, even in relation to the labor movement, except the professional fee, is likely to acquire at best the status of the paid attorney rather than that of the competent physician, to say nothing of the 'detached' scientist. To what extent is the present strength of the British Labor Movement, e. g., due to the Fabian's respect for their own independent status in the labor movement? Isn't excessive humility a kind of introverted romanticism?"

"Whole areas of the necessary work to be done by intellectuals for and with labor," writes Heber Blankenhorn, "are nowhere near being recognized by labor as worth paying for or by intellectuals as worth doing. Does labor pay for all the civil liberties defenders, writers, researchers, etc., whose work mainly benefits labor, where that work is at all worth while?"

¹¹ For a partial list of such unions, see Appendix.

Mr. Muste deals with the possible value of a public school teacher as follows:

"Emphasis might be placed on the fact that teachers in the public elementary and secondary schools should be able, as labor gains in importance and recognition to render increasing service, negatively, by not communicating an anti-labor attitude to growing children, as is now often done; positively, by presenting accurately some of the facts about the workers and their movement, even though extreme care may need to be taken not to seem to create a pro-labor attitude. Moreover, there are bound to come into existence an increasing number of towns or districts where the industrial worker comes to control the school administration, and where teachers who comprehend him and his needs, can be of considerable service to his children."

ocratic Parties keep large numbers of volunteer workers busy. If one is a Socialist or a Farmer-Laborite, or a Non-Partisan Leaguer, he may find this work in abundance in many sections of the country, and as labor becomes more active in politics such opportunities will increase. There is great need, in labor politics, for newspaper and publicity men, for organizers, for canvassers, for lawyers, speakers, and general utility men and women who can be generous with their time. Here again, however, the intellectual should be careful not to lead away from labor, as embodied either in the official or the rank and file. Ultimately, when a better common ground, and more understanding and trust have been built between the intellectual and the labor movement, there is a possibility here for leadership as well. It is noteworthy that in every country where labor has assumed a substantial political power, many of the political leaders are professional men. Such leaders are found in no one wing of the movement. They extend all the way from Lenin in Russia, through Longuet in France and Ramsay MacDonald in England, to such a conservative Socialist as Sidney Webb. In politics the intellectual has a peculiar opportunity to co-operate with the labor movement and even to lead. We in America must remember, however, that no number of intellectuals can form a labor political movement or even lead it by themselves. Labor itself must first go into politics.

EDUCATION FOR THE INTELLECTUAL

Whether one is to work actively for the labor movement, or is merely to be connected with it in sympathy and by indirect contact, a sound educational basis is indispensable. Those still in college who are interested in the matter have an enviable opportunity to prepare themselves for assisting the new world to come into being, or for understanding the process.

It is, first of all, necessary to understand the method of experimental science. One of the greatest tasks of the next few generations is to give to the human sciences something of the same certainty, something of the same possibility of accumulating tested knowledge, that has marked the natural sciences since their new start made, let us say, by Francis Bacon's "*Novum Organum*." On this account a knowledge of the methods of the natural sciences, preferably biology,

is useful. Geology, economic geography and anthropology will add perspective to the scientific outlook.

History, taught not as a succession of dynasties and dates, but as a development of social and economic forces and institutions, would be of extraordinary help.¹²

Next, a knowledge of psychology, and especially of social psychology, is essential to a solution of many of the most vexed economic problems. Sound experimental psychology is still in its early stages, but a survey of this field should be profitable.

With such a background it will be safe to approach economics. Academic economics, as it has been taught in the past and is still taught in many colleges, is little but an aggregation of dogmas and unsubstantial hypotheses, based upon prejudice, interest, or the experience of a vanished economic order. But a background of experimental science and psychology will enable the student to apply the proper criticism to this old economic mythology, and to welcome the new method of modern economists, who refuse to draw conclusions as to unalterable "economic law" without adequate quantitative measurement of phenomena.

Combined with such correctives, the study of "sociology" or the "science of society" is not likely to prove harmful, though it is yet in an extremely primitive stage, and should not for the most part be accepted as established truth. Taught by an able and open-minded man, it will be stimulating.

Mathematics is essential to an understanding of anything beyond elementary statistics which is an indispensable tool in any scientific inquiry.

Such a basis as the preceding is desirable on which to build concrete professional training, whether in engineering, journalism, accountancy, law, or applied economics, especially if the profession is to be practiced in the interests of labor. It is not meant to be inclusive, or to underestimate the value of such subjects as literature or philosophy.

The history and present status of the labor movement may be studied in some colleges, that part of it which can be ab-

¹² Dr. Harry Dana believes that another help to the student would be the study of literature "taught not as the culture of the leisure classes, but as the expression of social ideals. The workers are not merely economic factors but also imaginative beings, and the intellectual who would help them should know the development of the ideas that stir them as they have been voiced in literature."

sorbed from books may easily be acquired by reading in or out of college.¹⁸

FINALLY

In conclusion it may be remembered that from any point of view the task of the intellectual—in the sense here defined—is mainly to discover truth and spread its understanding and application to human affairs. There are few problems more important to the modern community than those associated with industry and labor. Whether the intellectual has any close contacts with the labor movement or not, the opportunity always is before him to understand it as well as possible, and to spread that understanding in whatever society he happens to move. A scientific and broad approach to the struggles of labor, if it can be made to permeate those classes of the community who are usually fed with calculated misinformation and actuated by heated prejudice in the presence of strikes and other labor troubles, will do much to make possible intelligent progress toward a solution of the gravest of modern problems. As an outpost of intelligence, of good will, of enlightenment, the intellectual can render an invisible but a difficult and highly useful service. It is here, perhaps, that the majority of intellectuals with an interest in the labor movement will find their true function.

Those who do have an opportunity to work directly in the movement, will find it, in spite of all possible discouragement and disillusionment, at least as interesting and satisfactory as the usual professional or business career. It does not offer so large material rewards to the exceptionally successful, but the average worker is able to make a living in it. He will gain besides an immense comfort from the knowledge that his work has a significance beyond the next meal and the next night's lodging.

¹⁸ H. S. Raushenbush, Amherst graduate, investigator in anthracite mining district, supplements Mr. Soule's statement as follows:

"The author omits what seems to me to be essential. I think the intricate job a labor leader has should lead to the conclusion that the intellectual should go through the same process, i.e., work in the industry for a year or two—preferably immediately after college—not only to get the common touch and to strengthen his decision about staying in that kind of work, but mainly to give him self-assurance and the necessary technical knowledge."

COMMENT AND SUGGESTIONS

BROADER ASPECTS

Morris Hillquit

Mr. Soule's pamphlet is confined primarily to the value of the technician in the practical work of the trade unions. Historically, the role of the intellectual or "theoretician" (as distinct from the technician) has always been to express the general social ideas of the labor movement, to formulate its political program and to discover and emphasize the common and ultimate interests of the entire working class in the everyday struggles of its separate detachments. It is, in fact, the recognition that the class struggle of the workers inevitably leads to a higher social order that furnishes common ground for the intellectual idealists and practical trade unionists in the political and economic struggles of organized labor.

ETHICS AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

A. J. Muste

(Brookwood Labor College)

Dealing with the possible ethical contribution to the radical movement, A. J. Muste, writes: "I believe that the labor movement is fundamentally the idealistic movement of our time; in some connection or other with it is the most tolerable place for the idealist to work. Undoubtedly, intellectuals with high ethical ideals can make a contribution to the solution of the ethical problems involved in labor union activities, provided that they **never preach** ethical ideals to labor unionists and **almost never** speak of them, and provided that their ethical convictions are not petrified dogmas mechanically applied to living situations, but hypotheses fearlessly lived by so long as no better are in sight, but constantly tested by being made to meet (not evade) situations and thus enriched and corrected. On the other hand, we need a new statement of ethics in general. The philosopher, who is going to do it, will have to get much of his material from the labor movement and will in turn render a profound service to it."

LABOR BANKING AND POLITICS

Frederic C. Howe

(Secretary, Conference for Progressive Political Action)

There is a large field for the intellectual, so called, in the labor movement in the new economic activities being taken on by the international organizations. During the past two years at least thirteen banks have been organized by labor groups, mostly from the railway unions. The Brotherhood of Loco-

motive Engineers' Cooperative National Bank of Cleveland has grown to nearly \$20,000,000 in resources in two years' time. Other banks have also shown a remarkable growth. The co-operative movement is making headway among the railway workers and miners. So also is group buying. The last election showed the possibilities of a labor political movement in this country. In the central and western states the forces of organized labor were mobilized as they never had been before. They worked intelligently and with a generous spirit of cooperation. The labor vote should be mobilized in our cities' elections. That is probably where labor will begin its real political salvation. From that it will move on.

Editor's Note: Labor banking in this country has been one of the most interesting and significant of the recent developments in the labor movement. In November, 1920, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers opened a bank in Cleveland with a capital stock of \$1,000,000, all of the stock being subscribed by members of the union. In the previous May, the International Association of Machinists opened the Mount Vernon Savings Bank in Washington, D. C., although this bank is in part owned by outsiders. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America followed suit in May, 1922, forming the Amalgamated Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago,—a 100 per cent labor bank. Labor banks have also been established in Philadelphia and in other parts of the country. The Locomotive Engineers have purchased a considerable block in the Empire Trust Company of New York, and this organization, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' and the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York are all going into banking in the Metropolis. There is here, therefore, a growing field for the technical trained banker with labor sympathies.

Labor has not as yet developed in this country a strong independent political movement as in European countries. In Great Britain intellectuals of the type of Sydney and Beatrice Webb, J. Ramsay Macdonald, Philip Snowden, H. N. Brailsford, et al., have given their energies and talents to labor on the political field. Thus far labor has sought to elect to office in this country men more or less friendly to labor in the older political parties. The Conference for Progressive Political Action, formed in February, 1922, as a result of a call of the machinists, railroad brotherhoods, etc., may later develop a powerful national Labor Party. In the meanwhile, the Socialist Party, the Nonpartisan League, the Farmer-Labor Party and the Workers' Party are functioning as parties of labor and the farmer. In some states these groups have combined into a local Labor Party. They have elected numerous congressmen, senators, state legislators and municipal councillors.

Intellectuals function in a labor political movement as speakers, secretaries, organizers, writers, research workers, "lobbyists," legislators, administrators, etc.

The principal labor political groups in the United States include:

Conference for Progressive Political Action, Machinist Building, Washington, D. C.

Farmer-Labor Party, 166 W. Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.
National Non-Partisan League, St. Paul, Minn.

Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee, A. F. of L.,
A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

Socialist Party, 2418 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Workers' Party, 799 Broadway, New York City.

A CHANCE TO JOIN THE UNION MOVEMENT

Henry R. Linville

(President, The Teachers Union, New York City.)

Teaching is a job worth while socially, and most persons like to teach somewhere and under certain conditions. There are unions of teachers, and they are in the thick of the union movement. They are the real thing. Teachers' unions everywhere in this country are well received by trade union men and women, and give substantial aid in the struggle for the common good. In one sense, organized teachers as a group should be natural leaders in the union movement. They join a teachers' union because they realize the force of the argument that each social group must organize in a fundamental social movement to improve its own working conditions. Moreover, teaching itself is social work. Good teaching helps everybody.

Many teachers' union members work as teachers in workers' education movements. In the cities of New York, Boston, Washington, Atlanta, Chicago, St. Paul, Portland, Oregon, and San Francisco, the workers are being taught in part by members of teachers' unions. The workers prefer to have union teachers.

There may be just one reason why potentially good teachers would hold off from going into teaching as a business. And that reason is connected with the existence of bad conditions. Private schools are often controlled by ultra-conservative financial, social or ecclesiastical interests. Public schools—in which the demand for teachers is greatest—are run largely by politicians. They are conducted without social idealism of a high type, too often by a lot of persons in the administration and among the teachers who regard teaching as a tough job rather than as a social opportunity. Nevertheless, there is the opening for intelligent persons of social vision. The break must come some time. We want big, live and enlightened men and women in the school systems to help in educational reconstruction which is sure to come. When such persons begin to come in, society and the teachers themselves will take a big jump ahead.

WORKERS' EDUCATION

Arthur Gleason

Workers' education is not a course on things in general. It presupposes that labor is gaining power rather rapidly, that something like a crisis will be reached within two generations. It is the humanly imperfect effort to meet that situation of responsibility. . . .

With the alliance of labor and scholarship in workers' education will come a new unionism, an intelligent journalism, a group of interesting teachers. No big rewards and no newspaper fame await the pioneers of this emancipation. Neither teachers nor students will profit by one penny through their devotion. Workers' education does not say "come and be comfortable." It cannot be dressed in the garments of success. It demands the impossible. It calls for hard and clear thinking, for lonely work, for slow results and unregarded growth. The faithful servant of this calling may read "his victory in his children's eyes," but he will not live to see the day of its advent. He is building for a long future.

—Excerpts from article in **The New Republic.**

Editor's Note: Workers' education, conducted under distinct trade union auspices, began in this country with the establishment of an educational department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in 1916. Prior to this date, however, we find a number of institutions such as the Rand School for Social Science (organized in 1906), and the National Women's Trade Union League, engaged in the task of workers' education. By 1923, the number of trade union colleges and labor schools had grown to about fifty. Such international organizations as the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (3 West 16th Street, New York City), and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (31 Union Square, New York City), have active educational departments, while central trades councils in Boston, Philadelphia and many other cities have organized city labor colleges. The Pennsylvania Federation of Labor conducts a state wide educational work.

In the spring of 1921, the Workers' Education Bureau of America was formed to collect and disseminate information relative to efforts at education conducted by any part of organized labor, to coordinate the work throughout the nation and encourage the formation of additional enterprises. It publishes text-books, conducts a loan library department, assists in supplying teachers, etc. Its headquarters is 476 West 24th Street, N. Y. C., Spencer Miller, Jr., an Amherst graduate, is Secretary of the Bureau which is now under A. F. of L. auspices. An interesting development in workers' education has been the organization, in 1921, of a residence labor college, Brookwood Labor College, at Katonah, N. Y., with A. J. Muste, as chairman of the faculty, and Toscan Bennett as executive secretary.

WANTED FOR PUBLIC SERVICE

Carl D. Thompson

The Public Ownership League of America, 127 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill., needs a thousand men and women for public service. The cities of America, the states and the nation need and cry out for men who will train and qualify themselves, discipline and equip themselves for specific tasks in the public service.

Everywhere our cities are struggling with their utility problems—their street car service, water works, gas plants, electric light and power plants. The Public Ownership League is organizing and marshalling the forces that help in these struggles. It supplies the facts and information which it has laboriously collected through years of patient research work; it furnishes speakers, writers or campaign managers; it supplies engineers to build the plant, or valuation experts to see that the city is not defrauded in a purchase price; and, where needed, it supplies attorneys to help the city fight its legal battles. In short the League endeavors to help a city or community at every step of the way in the specific task of securing the public ownership and efficient operation of the public utilities.

And scarcely a day passes that the League does not help some city somewhere in securing the public ownership of one or the other of its public utilities. Over 750 cities have installed municipal electric light and power plants since the League began its work and at least 50 of these have been directly assisted by the League while scores of others have been helped indirectly. And the field grows daily. What the League has been doing heretofore in helping the individual city here and there, it must now do on a much larger scale. For a new phase of the public utility problem has arisen—that of the private monopoly in the hydro-electric and superpower field. The private corporations are swiftly seizing upon every possible resource of water power and coal for the production of electric current, capturing and consolidating both private and municipal plants and tieing them into vast interconnected superpower systems. Thus they will shortly be in complete control of the hydro-electric and superpower field in America and controlling the power they will control every phase of modern civilization. For electricity is the power of the future. For the home, for industry, transportation, mining and for agriculture—electricity from now on is the one absolute essential. He who controls the power controls all.

Hence the commanding need for public ownership in this larger field. And the Public Ownership League is organizing forces, drafting and introducing bills, pressing publicity in a dozen states at once. But the need and the task grow daily. There is need for engineers, writers, organizers, speakers, utility specialists, research workers, attorneys.

LABOR RESEARCH

Labor during the past few years has been learning the value of facts—facts on wages, on profits, on the cost of living, on living standards, on the state of the market, on the efficiency of the industry, etc.; facts to serve as a basis for union strategy; facts to present to the public in time of strike; facts to bring before the impartial arbitrators in the settlement of labor controversies.

To obtain and present these facts in the most effective manner, some international unions, such as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, have organized their own research departments. Others, as in the case of the railway crafts, have combined with allied unions in establishing a joint bureau with headquarters in Chicago. A third group has hired economists and statisticians of the type of W. Jett Lauck of Washington. Others still are employing such statistical bureaus as the Labor Bureau, Inc., on a fee basis to do specific jobs. Labor organizations have also received a considerable amount of voluntary assistance from such organizations as the Bureau of Industrial Research.

The following addresses of labor research groups may be noted:

Labor Bureau, Inc., 2 West 43rd St., New York City.

Publicity and Information Service, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

W. Jett Lauck, Southern Building, Washington, D. C.

Research Department, Railway Employees Department, A. F. of L., 4750 Broadway, Chicago, Ill.

Research Department, Industrial Workers' of the World, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Research Department, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Dr. Leo Wolman, Director, 31 Union Square, New York City.

Bureau of Industrial Research, 289 Fourth Ave., New York City.

Research Department, Rand School of Social Science, 7 E. 15th Street, New York City.

A number of other labor organizations have research and publicity departments more or less developed.

The Industrial Workers of the World have also taken a keen interest of late in industrial research.

OTHER OPPORTUNITIES

Frank V. Anderson, librarian, calls attention to the need for labor architects and managers for trade union buildings, and for labor librarians. Bruno Lasker, in elaborating on the need for the last named group, has the following to say:

"Librarianship is becoming of increasing importance but is usually badly done if at all. Each of the larger craft unions should, for the use of its officers and members, have a library of books, laws, pamphlets, clippings."

LABOR'S HEALTH SERVICE

Harriet Silverman

The labor movement of the country has recently given increasing attention to the health of its members. A significant development in this field has been the organization of the Workers' Health Bureau on July 1, 1921, to serve organized labor in the field of Health, formed in the belief that trade unions should assume a new function, namely the protection of workers' bodies against the ravages of occupational diseases.

The Bureau acts as an engineering body, studies health destroying processes in the various sections of a trade, analyzes harmful materials, works out a program of health education and builds up on this information a health plan suited to the needs of the particular group of local unions uniting for the work.

The program is to be carried out in each trade union through the establishment of a Health Department, financed and controlled by the union membership. In other words, this is the application of the cooperative principle to medical science.

The Bureau, with headquarters at Broadway and Eleventh Street, New York City, is supported by yearly affiliation fees from locals joining the Bureau.

LAWYERS AND LABOR

Albert De Silver

A labor union is a business organization, engaged in selling the services of its members for the best price it can get. In the course of that business from time to time it has legal work to be done. Such legal work may be of various sorts, such as advising as to employment contracts, appearing at wage arbitrations, contesting the claim so often made that the unions are conspiracies either in restraint of trade or to serve some other unlawful purpose. Members of labor organizations accused of unlawful acts are entitled to legal defence.

The conscientious lawyer in active practice should be ready to accept retainers from labor organizations for such work and he should be ready to accept them irrespective of what his other clients may think of it. He is a technician and he should be ready to put his technical skill at the service of the unions when called upon. And, moreover, the lawyer who is ready and willing to undertake work of that sort should fit himself for it by learning something about the present condition of the unions and their history and background. Those are subjects which are only just beginning to be taught at a few law schools, yet the lawyer who intends to number labor unions among his clients must know them if he is to do good work.

The law of industrial disputes is at the present time in the process of rapid growth. It is fast being molded by judicial decisions and is becoming a branch of the law more and more important to the community as a whole. Its growth along

more equitable lines can be assisted only by the skillful and able presentation of the unions' side of the controversies which constantly arise. That is the job of the lawyer who would be of service to the labor movement.

ENGINEERS AND THE HUMAN MACHINE

Champlain L. Riley

The engineer is the man who applies the physical sciences to the production of wealth. He has been responsible for the development of steel mills, railroads, radio and water power. Science is his handmaiden. To him the earth gives up her oil and her coal, and the trees their rubber. No profession appeals more strongly to the imagination. No profession is nearer, apparently, to the center of modern civilization.

And yet the engineer finds himself a less and less dominating force in industry. He no longer controls his own time, nor determines the direction of his own efforts. Like a blind Samson he turns the mill for others, often far less strong than he.

The engineer has remained too completely an engineer. While he has been working with machines and materials, others have mastered the human machine in which he is no more than a cog.

With the rise of the corporation there has evolved the new business of "ownership." The engineer finds his time and his opportunities "owned" by others—not human employers with whom he can talk—but boards of directors to whose single purpose, the making of profits, all his activities must contribute. These new "owners" are wise in their generation and they pay him well for his services.

But he is not blind. He is aware of the increasingly subordinate position to which he is being relegated, and he is beginning to study the human machine with the same analytical mind with which he has solved so many mechanical problems. There are already some notable examples of engineers who have mastered the operation of the human machine, and it may be that out of the minds of men trained to produce rather than to exploit, a new social consciousness will be born.

MINISTERS AND LABOR

Paul Jones

The average church contains a mixture of economic groups in varying proportions, each group thinking economically in its own terms. The minister or priest can interpret those two groups to each other, stressing the dominant human note that is back of labor's aspirations. Much excellent work along that line has been done through newspapers in small cities where a minister conducts a column into which he can put matter that ordinarily gets into the news columns.

In choosing a particular congregation to work in the minister can pick one which is preponderantly labor in its make-up (for there are such in every denomination) and give himself fully to forwarding the spiritual interests of the group. In

times of strike or industrial cleavage a minister can often assist definitely in getting the fundamental facts before the public either directly through the press or through the organization of a committee of broad-minded men and women. Ministers have sometimes aided the cause of labor by acting as watchers when picketing is going on in order to testify in regard to illegal interference. Others have opened their churches or other buildings to strikers to whom public halls have been barred. The large number of cases where ministers have been called in as arbitrators in labor disputes suggests another field for those who have won a reputation for fair-minded dealing as well as interest in the human problems involved. The Labor College movement has had conspicuous assistance from ministers in various cities. The Forum movement which has provided platforms from which various angles of the labor problem could be discussed before a general public has had large backing from ministers, George Lackland estimating that more than fifty per cent of such forums are to be found in churches.

In general, the minister's best field in connection with labor is, from the peculiar nature of his position, primarily that of mediation in such forms as have been suggested above rather than that of direct participation. But the synthesizing element which he can thus supply is one which is especially needed at this time. There is a certain risk that the minister may lose his job by this course of action, but that risk is less than it sometimes seems and there is no job worth while that does not involve risk.

OPPORTUNITIES IN THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Cedric Long

(Of the Cooperative League of America)

The cooperative movement is still weak in the United States. Therefore at first sight it seems to offer fewer opportunities to the intellectual than the labor movement. As a matter of fact, however, it may offer more. Many a sincere and capable young fellow has sought entrance to the labor movement only to find on getting in that his economic interests were not those of the manual worker and that he did not naturally belong there. There is no such barrier to the consumers' cooperative movement. The intellectual and the laborer, as consumers, have identical economic interests; and many an intellectual has been amazed to see how readily the cooperative society welcomes him even into a position of responsibility.

Also, because of the variety of commercial enterprises which are the legitimate prey of the cooperative society, the demand for skilled workers is much more varied than in the organized labor movement. Today intellectuals, as cooperators, are active in many of the following professions or lines of business and the demand for such experts is increasing: Accountancy, publicity, law, research, teaching, organization work, architecture,

store management and merchandising, bakery management, restaurant management, laundry management, banking, insurance, dairying, contracting and building, coal distribution.

The average intellectual probably does not care to be professionally employed by any radical movement; he may desire to serve some one of them voluntarily as the opportunity arises.

Editor's Note: The Cooperative League of America, 167 West 12th Street, New York City, Dr. James P. Warbasse, President, is the foremost educational body in the country devoted to the interest of consumers' cooperation.

The All American Cooperative Commission, 806 B. of L. E. Building, Cleveland, Ohio, gives considerable attention to producers' as well as consumers' cooperative enterprises.

The American Federation of Labor also has a committee on cooperation.

WANTED: LABOR PAPER EDITORS

Heber Blankenhorn

(Formerly City Editor New York Sun, Director Bureau of Industrial Research)

How long would it take to become a labor paper editor?

To be a good one, about four years. Two to learn the newspaper job; one to learn the economics of the trade you propose to labor in and to serve; one to learn how to work with leaders.

Four years looks longish to the youth of twenty-one; would it be worth while? Don't judge wholly by the present perspective. The day of the labor editor is just commencing.

Newspapering is a trade. Avoid the set schools of journalism, training for the commercial press. Get job after job as reporter or copyreader on six or eight papers and one news agency in as many cities, including a metropolitan paper, a big small-town paper, and one in a state capital or in Washington. Learn something about the business office—the advertising revenue and circulation—and about the printing plant of each paper you work on. Study the news agencies. Your ambition is to lose your job the minute you have made good on it. Good reporters can bum it from desk to desk as successfully as good plumbers.

In these two years you will happen on your quota of labor stories to cover. The machinists, the railroaders, the miners, the printers, or some one piece of the trade union movement gets more and more of your interest. Put on overalls, break a bone or two, live lean and fight around inside your fellows' union. Beside observing what they don't read, you will learn what men live for and what little they work for.

It will take six months to study hard the economics of one or two of the great industries, yours among them; for the news of your future career is largely a new kind of news.

With trade union status, you will be leaving the local union in the direction of your real job—the labor press—probably via the road of publicity man in a strike, or in an organizing

or defense campaign. You will work with six leaders and disagree with five. You will learn to assert that independence of judgment which is the backbone of any sound press; and to practice that cooperation which abides by the mistakes of fellow workers.

Thus you find that spot in the movement which needs a labor paper or that sheet which might be a paper if it had an editor. There are a hundred such needy places right now.

This piece reads like a prescription. It is written for one hundred men leaving college or wanting to leave newspapers, young, of good heart, vertebrae and intestines, but suffering dull pains whenever they think of a life-work. The prescription mainly assures them of a decent living while taking the cure.

NOTES ON LABOR PAPERS

The Federated Press, Carl Haessler, manager, 511 N. Peoria St., Chicago, Ill. Supplies more than 100 labor papers with a daily news service.

There are several hundred labor papers in the country. among those of outstanding importance are:

MONTHLIES

The Locomotive Engineers' Journal, Albert C. Coyle, acting editor, B. L. E. Building, Cleveland, Ohio. This journal has of late developed features of great interest to all students of labor problems. **Magazine of Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen**, John McNamee, editor, Guardian Building, Cleveland, Ohio. **Machinists' Journal**, Fred Hewitt, editor, Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C. **The American Federationist**, Samuel Gompers, editor, Washington, D. C. **International Molders' Journal**, John P. Frey, editor, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio. **The United Mine Workers' Journal**, Indianapolis, Ind. **International Typographical Journal**, Bankers Trust Building, Indianapolis, Ind.

WEEKLIES

Justice, organ of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Max D. Danish, editor, 3 W. 16th St., New York City. **Advance**, organ of Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Joseph Schlossberg, editor, 31 Union Square, New York City. **Industrial Solidarity**, I. W. W. organ, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. **The Illinois Miner**, Illinois Miners' Building, Springfield, Ill.

DAILIES

New York Call, **Minneapolis Daily Star**, **Seattle Union Record**, **Milwaukee Leader**, **Oklahoma Leader**, **Jewish Daily Forward** (Yiddish).

Among papers not the organ of any particular union, but which deal with various phases of the labor problem are:

Labor Age, Louis Budenz, manager, 16th Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City. This monthly devotes each issue to some constructive feature of the labor movement in America.

Labor Herald, William Z. Foster, editor, 118 N. LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill., organ of the Trade Union Educational League. Devoted to development of a program of industrial unionism among American trade unions.

Liberator, 799 Broadway, New York City. Organ of Workers' Party.

The National Leader, Box 2072, Minneapolis, Minn. Monthly. Organ of National Non-Partisan League.

The Socialist World, 2418 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Organ of the Socialist Party.

Labor, Edward Keating, editor, Machinist Building, Washington, D. C. Weekly. Supported by railroad unions.

New Majority, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill. Weekly. Organ of Farmer-Labor Party.

The Nation, 20 Vesey St., New York City; **New Republic**, 421 W. 21st St., New York City; **The Survey**, 112 East 19th St., New York City; **The Freeman**, 116 W. 13th St., New York City; **World Tomorrow**, 396 Broadway, New York City; **Arbitrator**, 114 E. 31st St., New York City; also deal extensively with various phases of labor.

A FEW "BRAIN WORKERS" UNIONS

American Federation of Teachers, F. J. Stecker, Secretary, 166 W. Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

The Press Writers' Union of New York City, Arthur Warner, George Soule, Room 932, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Associated Actors and Artists of America, H. Montford, 1440 Broadway, New York City. This organization includes groups specifically representative of vaudeville actors, opera choruses, etc. The Actors' Equity Association, Frank Gilmore, Secretary, 115 W. 47th Street, New York City, contains most of the prominent English speaking actors.

National Federation of Federal Employes, E. J. Newmyer, 1423 New York Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

American Federation of Musicians, W. Kerngood, 239 Halsey Street, Newark, N. J.

Retail Clerks' International Protective Association, H. J. Conway, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind.

ORGANIZATIONS PROMOTING LABOR LEGISLATION

During the past twenty years, a number of men and women outside of the labor movement have done and are continuing to do valuable work for labor in promoting protective legislation for women and children workers; legislation improving the health conditions, ameliorating the unemployment problem, etc.

The associations include:

American Association for Labor Legislation, Dr. John B. Andrews, Secretary, 131 East 23rd Street, New York City.

National Consumers' League, Mrs. Florence Kelley, General Secretary, 44 E. 23rd St., New York City.

National Child Labor Association, Owen R. Lovejoy, Secretary, 105 E. 22nd St., New York City.

Peoples' Legislative Service, Basil Manly, 605 Fendall Bldg., Washington, D. C.

EDUCATIONAL GROUPS

More purely educational groups which utilize brain workers in activities that relate to the labor movement include:

The League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Public Ownership League of America, Carl D. Thompson, Secretary, 127 N. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

RELIGIOUS GROUPS INTERESTED IN LABOR

Church League for Industrial Democracy, (Episcopal), Rev. F. B. Barnett, Wrightstown, Pa.

Fellowship of Reconciliation, Bishop Paul Jones, Secretary, 396 Broadway, New York City.

Fellowship of the Christian Social Order, Kirby Page, Hasbrouck Heights, N. J.

National Catholic Welfare Council, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D. C. The Rev. John A. Ryan, Secretary.

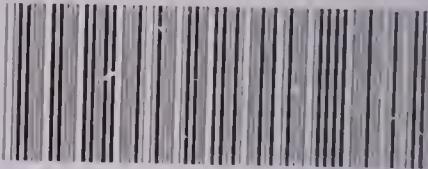
Research Council, Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of Churches of America, F. Ernest Johnson, Director, 105 E. 22nd Street, New York City.

Social Service Commission of the Methodist Church, Harry F. Ward, Secretary, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The Young Men's Christian Association (address 347 Madison Avenue, New York City), the Young Women's Christian Association (600 Lexington Avenue, New York City) and various other church groups have committees or separate organizations which give increasing attention to labor problems.

The American Civil Liberties Union, Roger N. Baldwin and Albert De Silver, directors, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City, does an invaluable work through its national office and volunteer helpers for the protection of labor's civil rights.

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